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We make our appeal to all men of goodwill; we count on the support of all; we hope especially that the press, religion, and another power which is, day by day, showing itself with ever greater energy, that of woman, will take us under their protection. With such support as these we are sure to win the cause which will bring men back to the age of gold, the time of which the poet sings:

"Où d'un siècle barbare
Naîtra un siècle d'or plus puissant et plus beau."

An Open Word to Our Warlike Germans.

BY DR. OTTO UMFRID, STUTTGART.

From "Der Folkserzieher."

Dear Fellow-Germans: After having won a great war thirty-nine years ago, you have become very warlike. You have completely transformed yourselves. Formerly you were a nation of poets and thinkers: now you have become a nation of swordsmen. Formerly you conceived your task to be to bless the world with ideas: now you set at nought this conception and have only an eye for clashing swords and clinking coin. And, furthermore, you fail to observe that with the renunciation of your past you have given away the best that you had. Your forefathers set their honor in being the most universalistic people in the world; you no longer know any honor except that of being not simply equal to other peoples in the development of power and the accumulating of money, but wherever possible of surpassing them. In this way the thirst for power and the fever of war have well nigh wrecked your understanding. You say in one breath: If you wish peace, arm for war; and, since war is unavoidable, you say that that people will win which surpasses others in skill in arms and is soonest prepared to crush others; and you are unaware of the contradiction in which you are involving yourselves. Nay, you do not even notice that it is in no way demonstrated whether you are really the most strongly armed people, or whether there is any means which will render you capable of repulsing any coälition that may come against you.

To speak frankly, you have fallen under a sort of obsession or delusion — a delusion in which he who is under its spell holds himself to be especially acute, while he charges all others with being dumbheads. And by reason of your obsession you imagine that the other nations know of nothing more sensible to engage their attention than to plan for your overthrow, the destruction of your independence, while in reality no people of the earth is so stupid as to attempt to do such a monstrous thing.

You have also become unjust. For while it is self-evident that one should first acquaint himself with a subject before he writes about it, you write and speak of the peace movement, the meaning of which has not even entered your head, just as a blind man speaks of colors. You have doubtless learned from hearsay that a Bertha von Suttner or an Egidy exists or did exist, and therefrom you construct for yourselves a kind of peace movement which has nothing but the name in common with the real peace movement. Indeed, you create out of the two names Suttner and Egidy an opposition between practical and visionary friends of peace, nothing of which exists in reality. The ethical, religious conception of Egidy is in reality the same as that of our brave Baroness, who was, as all know, one of the warmest friends of the pious Lieutenant Colonel.

When, however, one knows in reference to the German Peace Society that it has its headquarters in Stuttgart and imagines that it has branches in all (!) cities, one knows in reality only about as much about it as a man who should say of the woman's movement: It has its seat in Berlin, its branches in all Germany, and it is laboring for emancipation from men. Further, he who proposes to divide wars simply into wars of self-interest and idealistic wars, and under the ideals for which wars are waged places love of the fatherland and vanity (!), reminds you forcibly of the student who divided the creatures of the earth into water-drinking and beer-drinking animals. The notion that wars are brought on and ended by bankers, or that the course of the world's history is decided by the journals of the stock exchange, is a substitution of the attendant circumstances for the producing causes. I pointed this out in my article on "War and Capitalism" in the *Friedensblätter* for June, 1905.

The principle of sovereignty, which prevents our modern peoples from submitting themselves to any compulsion even of law, is in process of decay and is being combated by science most effectively. In Germany, as Nippold in his work on the second Hague Conference has with rare insight shown, we are accustomed for the most part to overlook the fact that with the twentieth century a great new era has opened which no longer lays the emphasis on the struggle for nationality, but which has a specific international character. "Coöperation in the development of international culture and justice," says Nippold, "is to-day one of the foremost duties of the nations; it demands great men no less than did the tasks of the past century. In the German Empire one would to-day seek for such men mostly in vain. The knowledge of the problems to be solved begins to make its way among us first very gradually in a small circle. As yet we stand facing the new era for the most part without any comprehension of its meaning."

The German of to-day, to express it in a word, is wanting in nothing else so much as in sense of right. Otherwise it could not be asserted that the higher races, among whom especially the Germans are of course reckoned, cannot defend themselves against the more rapidly increasing lower races except by slaughter, as if there were no sparsely populated lands to which the densely populated lands might send the surplus of their people's strength! I have shown in my paper on "Colonization and Emigration" (The German Peace Congress of 1908 in Jena) how the stream of emigration from overpopulated regions should be conducted to Brazil, for example, where up to the present time there are only two persons to the square kilometer, or to Australia, where only one person to the square kilometer is found. That would be an outlet which would satisfy the sense of right of civilized mankind, whereas murder of men in the mass means a blow in the face of civilization and religion.

Unfortunately, the German of to-day is wanting also in religion; otherwise he could not suppose that he must necessarily seek his own place in the circle of his own stock. Nor could he imagine that "the possibility of a universal brotheroood" fails because of the very nature of man as such. On the contrary, he would know that man as such is a social being, and that the socialization of mankind must draw for itself ever wider circles, till it embraces the whole earth.

Finally the German, who has been warped by the idea of nationality, is wanting in the necessary breadth of view. How else could a man who lives in the age of commerce and of exhausting labor express the opinion that the German is falling into indolence and resemblance to the Chinese through the continuance of peace, and that he will only come to himself again through fighting. Against indolence we are protected by our industrial development, and only those can be called Chinese who do not look beyond their national boundaries. How the love of fatherland and peace between peoples may be united I have sufficiently pointed out in my work, "Friede auf Erden." (Second edition, 1890. Published by Lanquth, Esslingren.) I cannot here repeat what I have there said. But one request I shall be justified in making: My dear fellow countrymen, when you wish to speak or write about war and peace, have the goodness to read in advance the material bearing on the subject. You will thereby spare yourselves and those whom you are opposing much unpleasantness.

The Peace Movement in Japan.

BY GILBERT BOWLES, TOKYO, JAPAN.

Report of an Address at the Chicago National Peace Congress, May, 1909.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Congress: Late as it is, I feel like doing as did a Japanese preacher in the days when the police sometimes interfered with public Christian meetings. On such an occasion one evangelist consented to the interruption with the understanding that at the time appointed for the meeting he should be allowed to explain why the meeting was not to be held. Taking advantage of that occasion, he said that since the meeting had been forbidden he would simply tell the people what he would have said if he had been allowed to speak. [Laughter.]

The statement on the program concerning my relation to the Japan Peace Society is somewhat misleading, for it is given there as secretary of the Japan Peace Society. It has been my privilege to act as English secretary, but there are two or three Japanese secretaries, upon whom rests the real work of the society. While there are many foreigners in Japan — missionaries, educators, and some business men — who are connected with the society, it is distinctly a Japanese organization. When I left Japan last June (1908), nineteen of the twenty directors were Japanese.

Before speaking of the work of the Japan Peace Society, with headquarters in Tokyo, I wish to remind you of the existence of the Oriental Peace Society of Kyoto, which has among its members some of the leading educators and business men of that great southern capital. My only excuse for speaking is the fact of seven and one-half years of contact with the Japanese people and four years of special study of their attitude toward international peace. In my general contact with the people and in all of my interviews with students, educators, business men, members of parliament, mayors of cities, and members of the cabinet, I have yet to meet with the first real discouragement from a Japanese. [Applause.]

Soon after landing in America I met with the expression, "The Japanese all have chips on their shoulders, have n't they?" I have not discovered it in my contact with the Japanese. I shall go back to Japan feeling that there are in Japan, just as there are in America, great forces making for the world's peace. While there are in Japan, as here in America, forces which would make for war if left to themselves, there are counteracting forces, stronger and mightier with each new year, which make for peace and that coming internationalism for which a tired and confused world waits.

I take it that you are interested in knowing the spirit of the Japanese people, the soil in which the tree of peace grows, rather than in the details of organization and work. There are at least three striking characteristics of the Japanese which fit them to a remarkable degree for the principles and the hopes of the world-wide peace movement. One of these is the spirit of inquiry which stirred the hearts of the young Japanese even before the landing of Commodore Perry, and made some of them willing martyrs rather than give up their quest for truth and an outlook upon the world. That spirit of inquiry has sent students into all parts of the world to search for knowledge to be brought back and incorporated into the public and private life of the nation. That same spirit of inquiry takes knowledge of what you are doing here in this congress and in the peace congresses of Europe, and of every real advance toward the reign of international justice.

A second characteristic is the spirit of progress which has inspired Japan during the last half century. That same spirit of progress stretches out hands for whatever is best in the common life of humanity. The Japanese desire the best, not only for Japan, but also for the world. Keen interest in the development of civilization is a mark of Japan's great leaders. The Minister of Education in the last cabinet said in a personal interview: "Japan wishes to contribute her share to the progress of civilization, and this contribution can be made only in times of peace."

The third characteristic is the spirit of internationalism. In speaking upon this subject not long ago some one said, "I do not believe that the internationalism of Japan is skin deep." I could only say that, with very few exceptions, the foreigners who live in Japan and who know the spirit of the people, mingling with them in their homes, having them as friends and really entering into the life of the people, believe that the growing spirit of internationalism is genuine and hopeful.

The particular occasion for the formation of the Japan Peace Society came in the spring of 1906, the organization being effected on May 18. Preceding that was the close of the late war, when the sound of cannon and the shout of victory had ceased and the people had time to think upon peace. One of the leading dailies of Tokyo called attention to the fact that Japan had come to the time when she should not only receive from other nations, but should give into the great common life of the world. A reformer about that time said that just as following the last great earthquake the Japanese began to seek the causes of earthquakes, so following this war the Japanese people were beginning to ask the cause of such international calamities. Men were thinking deeply. They were responsive to the influence of European and American organizations. I am glad to acknowledge here Japan's debt to the American Peace Society and to its Secretary, who has from the beginning taken a deep, personal interest in the work.